

## The Role and Position of Women as taught in Colonial Manchukuo language textbooks (1938- 1942)

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<https://doi.org/10.15017/1959206>

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出版情報：地球社会統合科学研究. 9, pp.21-36, 2018-09-25. Graduate School of Integrated Sciences for Global Society, Kyushu University

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権利関係：

# The Role and Position of Women as taught in Colonial Manchukuo language textbooks (1938-1942)

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**Abstract:** The leadership of Manchukuo (1932-1945), the Japanese-controlled puppet state of Manchuria, was very interested in female education. It published special textbooks for girls' secondary schools, with the purpose of training girls to become "Good Wives and Wise Mothers". While there has been some scholarship on education in occupied Manchuria, few have analyzed female education. This paper investigates the education of Chinese girls who lived in Japanese-controlled Manchuria, including an analysis of four National Language textbooks published in 1938-1942. The contents of the textbooks for the girls and boys "high schools" are compared, with an eye for gender differences, and changes from the original texts and the textbooks revisions are compared. By analyzing textbooks, we can find the specifics of the "Good Wives and Wise Mothers" ideology, which the Manchukuo government encouraged. Elite females were encouraged not only in domestic roles, but also encouraged to play other roles to support in support society and the country. While the textbooks were part of an effort to cultivate obedient women, they presented a wider scope of opportunities for the female secondary students than might be expected.

Key words: Colonial Education, Secondary Education, Women, Manchukuo, Textbook.

## Introduction

After the Manchuria incident in 1931, the puppet state of Manchuria (Manchukuo) was established in 1932, and existed until the defeat of Japan in 1945. Education was administered by the Manchukuo Education Ministry, which was set up at 1932 (Wenjiao-bu). During its 14 years of existence, its education went through three distinct periods. From the state's founding in 1932 until the end of 1937 the

school system retained much of the forms of the previous Republic of China system, although they created new textbooks, which excluded previous nationalist "Three People principles" and anti-Japanese materials. The government also included significant amounts of excerpts from the Confucian classics in the new textbooks. In 1937 the Manchukuo government announced a "new education system", which reformed all Manchukuo education, creating a unique education system. In December 1942, after the Pacific War broke out, the Manchukuo government introduced several changes, issuing the Basic National Principles (jiben guoce dagang) and National Guidelines (guominxun), and made changes in the curriculum (Wang 1989:74). The education of the second period represented a mature, stable time for Manchukuo education, after the convulsions of the state's founding had settled down, but before the privations of the wider war began. This paper will focus on analyzing national language textbooks used in secondary schools in this period.

The 1938 reform, called the "Shingakusei", not only changed the education system, it also changed education principles, practices, and teaching methods. Also, the previous Education Ministry was reduced into a department of the Civil Affairs Ministry (Minsheng-bu). Three aspects of secondary education were changed in the new system. First, because the minimum age of admittance to primary schools was lowered from eight to seven, and primary education was fixed at six years, the admission age of secondary schools also lowered from age fourteen to thirteen. Secondly, the previous lower secondary schools (chuji zhongxue) and higher secondary schools (gaoji zhongxue), both of which were three-year schools, were synthesized into a single classification of national high schools (guomin gaodeng xuexiao). These new schools were four-year schools, which shortened the

total available secondary education by two years. Normally students attended from ages thirteen to sixteen. The secondary schools were segregated by gender, and girls were placed in girls' national high schools (*nuzi guomin gaodeng xuexiao*). The previous girls normal schools, such as the Fengtian Female Normal School, appear to have been closed in 1938, and replaced by a system in which a girl wishing to become an elementary school teacher would attend the girls' national high school for four years, and then attend a special normal course for one or two additional years (Manchukuo Civil Affairs Ministry Education Department 1937: 890; Department of Education of Northeast Normal University, 1951:34-36). Meanwhile, the government wanted to refocus education resources to serve the largest number of students. The number of female secondary schools decreased, but the number of female vocational schools increased, as did the number of teachers and students at those schools. It appears that weaker middle schools were merged into stronger schools, and some schools were transformed into vocational schools. The government encouraged females to become teachers, although usually only to teach female students. While the number of female students increased over time, it was still far less than male students. For several years the growth rate of female students was actually greater than that of male students.

An Education Department document states that the main principle of female secondary education of the new education system was to train women to become "Good wives and Wise Mothers." It stated that female education should maintain the national morality, pay special attention to the women's virtues, cultivate the national spirit, promote physical exercise, teach some female skills, and cultivate hardworking habits (Education Department 1937 : 37) .

Ruan Zhenduo, the Minister of Education, pointed out in 1937 that the purpose of female secondary education in the new school system was to cultivate "Good Wives and Wise Mothers" , and to improve "family lives of Manchukuo" . Female secondary education was to teach household planning, tailoring and other practical subjects. Ruan said the domestic affairs curriculum in female secondary schools were intended to develop "family teachers", who would could raise their children

and keep them healthy (Education Department 1937: 292-293) . The only post-graduation options implied in this document was to become a teacher or a mother.

The compilation and distribution of new textbooks corresponding to the new educational system was an important part of the education system. The work of compilation of the new textbooks had begun soon after the establishment of Manchukuo, including textbooks created by the Southern Manchuria Education Association and the Education Department of Fengtian. From 1933, the Manchukuo government published new school textbooks. In 1933, 14 new textbooks were published for secondary schools, another 14 in 1934 for secondary education) , and 63 volumes from 1935 to 1936 (Education Department 1941 : 23-24) . Although Manchukuo primary education was co-education, secondary education was divided into male schools and female schools, and Manchukuo compiled specialized textbooks for female middle schools. After the issue of the new education system, textbooks were divided into two categories: 1) textbooks compiled by state and 2) textbooks written privately but approved by the state. The textbook review committee was established in October 1939 to examine whether the compilation of textbooks was implemented in accordance with the guidelines of the Civil Affairs Ministry (Education Department 1941 : 25) .

While there has been some scholarship on education in occupied Manchuria, few papers have analyzed female education (Bailey, Paul J. 2006; Su Lin, Sasaki Akira 2007; Shimbo Atsuko 2008; Sakai Emiko 2012; Du Yun 2009; Zhou Yichuan 2010) . The historians Jiang Niandong and Yi Chengwen provide a comprehensive description of the history of Manchuria from its inception to its demise, and include some chapters on education (Jiang Niandong, Ying Chengwen 1991) . Andrew Hall has analyzed the development of Manchuria Japanese textbook and Manchuria education in different periods by analyzing some of Japanese colonial language educator mainstream thinking, combined with using Manchuria textbooks, education journals, and postwar memoirs (Hall 2009: 895-925) . Wu Qiang wrote about how Manchukuo government textbook policy developed, including the government's efforts to identify and censor previous Chinese textbooks, their compilation of new textbooks in line

with colonial interests, and their construction of fast routes for the prompt delivery textbooks (Wu 1989: 111-186) . Qi Hongshen collected testimonies of Chinese who had been teachers or students in Manchukuo, and found that one of the main interests of the puppet regime was to change the students' national identities. They strove to create a Manchukuo national identity, separated from a Chinese national identity. It was acted to make sure that the largely Chinese teaching population would carry out its directives. These actions included strict and brutal controls over the educators and teachers by examination, education supervisory and administrative sanctions (Qi 2004: 230-249) . Takenaka Ken'ichi translated many of those testimonies into Japanese. Several of these testimonies talk about the education of females. They testimonies tend to focus on the ethnic discrimination Chinese suffered during the period (Qi 2004: 52-63, 110-247) .

Despite the lack of research on the subject, the Japanese-controlled Manchuria regime, was very interested in its female education. It published special textbooks for girls' secondary schools, with the purpose of training girls to become "Good Wives and Wise Mothers" . This paper investigates the education of Chinese girls who lived in Japanese-controlled Manchuria, and carried out a contrastive analysis on four National Language textbooks published in 1938-1943. All of these textbooks were used for elite girls and boys in the general education "National High Schools" (Guomin gaodeng xuexiao) of Manchukuo. The contents of the textbooks for the girls and boys "high schools" are compared to look for gender differences. Textbooks are vectors of education, where I can find the Manchukuo government's real objectives on female students, including the roles they expected the women to fulfill. I also link up what I find about Manchukuo female education in the textbooks with Japan's larger imperialist goals, as well as the prevailing Japanese ideologies about women. I hope my research can open a new way to understand females who lived in Japanese-controlled Manchuria, and thereby understand how this education may have impacted the thinking of the women of Northeast China about their roles in the home and in society.

## Comparative study of the textbooks "Guo Yu (Chinese Language)"

To reveal the reality of the female education, I focus on Manchukuo Chinese "National Language" textbooks (Guo Yu) . What were the presupposed roles for women in the textbooks? Were these roles in line with the principles of the new school system in Manchukuo? Did their content match with the goals of cultivating female students to become "Good Wives and Wise Mothers" or primary school teachers? To find these answers, I analyzed four textbooks both for male and female students. They are, first, "*Guo Yu (Man Yu)*" 1 (*National language (Manchurian Language)* , I) (hereafter FT 1) , used in female national higher schools, and published in 1941 and republished in 1942. Second, "*Guo Yu (Man Yu)*" 2 (*National language (Manchurian language)* , II) (hereafter FT 2) , which was used in female national higher schools and published in 1942. Third, "*Guo Yu (Man Yu)*" 3 (*National language (Manchurian language)* , III) (hereafter MT 1) , which was used in male national higher schools and published in 1940 and republished in 1943. Fourth, "*Guo Yu (Man Yu)*" 4 (*National language (Manchurian language)* IV) (hereafter MT 2) , which was used in male national higher schools and published in 1940. These textbooks were created by the Manchukuo Ministry of Education Textbook Editing Department, which was led by the Japanese educator Terada Kiichiro.

All four of these textbooks (FT1, FT2, MT1, and MT 2) were used for elite girls and boys in the secondary schools of Manchukuo, called Guomin gaodeng xuexiao. First, I classified the contents of these four textbooks into five types: Type 1: Patriotism (e.g., discussion of the state or military) ; Type 2: Natural (e.g., landscapes, animals, etc.) ; Type 3: Human Relationships (e.g., relationships with family members and others); Type 4: Individual Betterment (e.g., self-improvement precepts, like how to save time, how study, how be a good person) ; Type 5: Others (Table 1) .

**Table 1: A classification of the textbooks according to contents**

Contents	FT1		FT2		MT1		MT2	
	Amount	Rate	Amount	Rate	Amount	Rate	Amount	Rate
Total amount (self-taught included)	32		37		57 (7)		58 (8)	
Patriotism	3	1%	5	13%	4	1%	3	1%
Natural	7	21%	9	24%	16	28%	13	23%
Human Relationships	15	46%	17	45%	21	36%	17	30%
Individual Betterment	7	21%	4	10%	13	22%	20	35%
Others	0	0%	2	6%	3	6%	5	9%

Quotations from following Manchukuo textbooks: *Guo Yu (Man Yu) Juan 1*. Nuzi guomin gaodeng xuexiao. 1941. (FT1) ; *Guo Yu (Man Yu) Juan 2*, Nuzi guomin gaodeng xuexiao. 1942. (FT2) ; *Guo Yu (Man Yu) Juan 1*, Guómín gāodèng xuéxiào. 1943. (MT1) ; *Guo Yu (Man Yu) Juan 2*, Guómín gāodèng xuéxiào. 1940. (MT2) .

The content of the textbooks for males and females were significantly different. As shown in Table 1, Type 3 (Human Relationships) accounts for 46% and 45% of the contents in the female FT 1 and FT 2 textbooks, respectively, and 36% and 30% in male MT 1 and MT 2 textbooks, respectively. So, relationship-related themes accounted for the largest part of these textbooks, especially for females, but also for males. However, the nature of the Human Relationship chapters was very different in the two types of textbooks. Female textbooks mainly focused on family, and the role females played, such as mother, wife, daughter, or sister. The male textbooks, on the other hand, mainly focused on pre-modern Chinese stories of respect for parents, friendship between men, and courage to protect others, rather than roles as a husband or father. Descriptions of males' roles as husbands did not appear in the male texts, but did appear in the female texts. For example, husbands were described having some shortcomings that required their wives' help or advice (FT 1 1941: 114) . On the other hand, fathers were described as loving their children just as much as their wives. Not only did

they show strict demands on their study and behavior, but also played with their children and coaxed them gently (FT 2 1942: 89-97) .

Outside of the chapters on Human Relationships, editors chose to emphasize natural themes in the textbooks used by female schools, focusing on life-associated things such as love for small animals or enjoying landscapes. Themes of females being kind-hearted and having an aesthetic appreciation were brought up in those lessons. The male textbooks had a greater amount of Individual Betterment chapters. For example, a lesson which criticizes those who are arrogant and use rude words (MT 2 1940: 40-44) . There were just one or two lessons related to patriotism in the textbooks used by both males and females, arranged at the beginning and the end of each textbook. They included chapters glorifying people who were devoted to the county or joined the army. Next, I classify the chapters of the four textbooks into five types by authors' backgrounds: modern Chinese authors, ancient Chinese authors, Japanese authors, western authors, and Manchukuo editors (Table 2) .

**Table 2: A classification of the textbooks according to Authors' backgrounds**

Authors' backgrounds	FT1		FT2		MT1		MT2	
	Amount	Rate	Amount	Rate	Amount	Rate	Amount	Rate
Total chapters (including self-study)	32		37		57 (7)		58 (8)	
Modern Chinese authors	17	53%	15	40%	30	53%	30	52%
Ancient Chinese authors	4	13%	7	19%	22	39%	25	43%
Japanese authors	2	1%	5	14%	3	6%	2	1%
Western authors	1	1%	1	1%	1	1%	1	1%
Manchukuo editors	8	25%	9	24%	1	1%	0	0

The data come from the same resources of table 1.

From Table 2, we can see that most chapters in the textbooks were written by Chinese. Modern Chinese are the most frequent, making up around half or even more than half of the textbooks. Out of those modern Chinese texts, some were written women. 14 of the chapters in the two female textbooks were written by women, while only two chapters of the two male textbooks were written by women. Bing Xin, a famous modern writer, was the most frequently used author, her pieces made up seven of the chapters. The number of articles in female textbooks is less than that in male textbooks, although the total page numbers were about the same. In the female textbooks, editors from the Manchukuo Department of Education wrote about 25% of the contents themselves. But for the male textbooks, they wrote less than 1%, relying on previously published Chinese writings. The subjects of editor-written chapters were connected with the Manchukuo state, Japan, the relationship of Manchukuo and Japan, mother's love on children, children's filial piety, family, and war. One of the chapters discussed a wife who gave her husband great peace of mind by taking care of her children and doing housework (FT 2 1942: 38) .

There were more traditional texts ("Gu Wen") used in male high schools than that in female high schools (FT 1 : 13%, FT 2 : 19%; MT 1 : 39%, MT 2 : 43%) . Why did the editors depend solely on previously written materials for the male textbooks, while writing their own original chapters for the female textbooks? For male education, the ideology the Manchuria government encouraged was to follow the principles of Confucianism and modern statism, including calls for

contributions to the state, loyalty and filial piety. These were ideas which could be found in pre-modern and modern China texts. However, the Manchukuo ideology towards females differed somewhat from the traditional texts. Female were not just urged to do a good job as a wife and a mother as before, but were also encouraged to play an important role as an individual. Females did not just need to fulfill the role of filial piety but also be expected to have basic aesthetic knowledge, even literary ability. Therefore, there were few ancient texts that were appropriate for the female high schools. Instead, the editors relied on modern Chinese texts and texts they wrote themselves.

Next, I pick out all of the chapters with gender role contents from the textbooks. I divide these chapters into three types: mother related, wife related, and female related (Table 3) .

As shown in Table 3, 47% and 73% of the contents are associated with females in FT 1 and FT2, respectively, whereas only 18% and 10% in male textbooks. So the proportion of female related in the FTs is much larger than that in the MTs; however, male related articles were almost the same in the FTs and the MTs. Additionally, the female textbooks' female-related material includes a relatively high proportion of female individual materials, but most chapters in the male textbooks about females were about males' filial piety towards mothers. While there was also a high percentage of chapters about mothers in the FTs, these tended to be about a mother's love for a child, rather than a child's filial piety towards a mother.

Lastly, I divided these chapters into three types

**Table 3: A classification of the textbooks according to gender roles**

Gender roles	FT1		FT2		MT1		MT2	
	Amount	Rate	Amount	Rate	Amount	Rate	Amount	Rate
Total chapters (including reviews)	32		37		57 (7)		58 (8)	
Male related	15	47%	17	46%	24	42%	24	41%
Female related	15	47%	27	73%	10	18%	6	10%
Mother related	8	53%	11	1%	6	60%	3	50%
Wife related	3	20%	3	11%	2	20%	1	17%
Female individual	4	27%	13	48%	2	20%	2	33%

*The data come from the same resources of table 1.*



**Table 4: A classification of the textbooks according to gender topics**

Gender topics	FT1		FT2		MT1		MT2	
	Amount	Rate	Amount	Rate	Amount	Rate	Amount	Rate
Total chapters (reviews included)	32		37		57 (7)		58 (8)	
Male only	1	3%	4	11%	15	26%	18	31%
Male, female and Family	14	43%	23	63%	9	16%	9	16%
Female only	3	9%	5	14%	1	2%	0	0

*The data come from the same resources of table 1.*

of gender topics: purely male related, family related (including both males and females), and purely female related (Table 4).

As it might be expected, the MTs had more chapters that were purely male related, and the FTs had more chapters that were purely female related, although the MTs were even more male-centered than the FTs were female-centered. What is most interesting is that the FTs included a much larger percentage of chapters about family relationships. Clearly females were encouraged to care about their family, while males were expected to focus on their personal morality and achievements.

### A comparative case study between an original text and a textbook chapter

I will now focus on a chapter from FT2, an edited version of a 1924 short story by the famous modern Chinese writer Lu Xun entitled "A Happy Family". This story features a male Chinese author musing about family life. The story presents two versions of a family: one is the man's real family, another one is an ideal happy family in his mind. I found that many sentences were deleted or modified from the original text by the Manchukuo editors. Why did they delete these sentences? What kind of information they did not want to present to female students, and what kind of information did they keep and encourage? All of these can be revealed in this chapter. I will compare the original 1924 Chinese text with the 1942 Manchukuo textbook, as well as providing a 1960 English translation of the original Chinese text.

Textbook chapter 1 (FT2 1942: 89-97)

(1) 一個小說家凝神細想，怎樣做他那篇「幸

福的家庭」 「啊，这幸福的家庭中自然只是夫妇二人 (2)，就是主人和主婦了。(3) 他們是自由結婚，結婚是訂了許多的條約，所以非常平等，及其自由 (4)。夫婦都是受過相當的教育的，不，都是受過高等教育的 (5)，(6) 主人始終是穿著洋服 (7)，硬領始終是雪白。主婦頭前的髮，始終是燙得蓬鬆鬆的像個麻雀巢 (8)，牙齒始終是雪白的露著 (9)，但是衣服卻是旗袍 (10)。他这样一件一件的想。” ……

Original text (Lu, Xingfude jiating, 1924)

他的笔立刻停滞了；他仰了头，两眼瞪着房顶，正在安排那安置这“幸福的家庭”的地方。… 察哈尔，吉林，黑龙江罢，——听说有马贼，也不行！ ……” (1)

家庭中自然是两夫妇 (2)，就是主人和主妇，自由结婚的 (3)。他们订有四十多条条约，非常详细，所以非常平等，十分自由 (4)。而且受过高等教育，优美高尚 (5) ……。东洋留学生已经不通行，——那么，假定为西洋留学生罢。(6) 主人始终穿洋服 (7)，硬领始终雪白；主妇是前头的头发始终烫得蓬蓬松松像一个麻雀窠 (8)，牙齿是始终雪白的露着 (9)，但衣服却是中国装 (10)， ……”

Translation of original text (Lu 1960: 157-159)

“…In that case what would be a good place? …… In Chahar, Kirin and Heilungkiang I have heard there are brigands, so they won't do either! …… (1)

The family naturally consists of a husband and wife (2) —the master and mistress—who married for love (3). Their marriage contract contains over forty terms going into great detail, so that they have extraordinary equality and absolute freedom (4). Moreover,

*they have both had a higher education and belong to the cultured élite (5) . . . . Japanese-returned students are no longer the fashion, so let them be Western-returned students. (6) The master of the house always wears a foreign suit (7) , his collar is always snowy white. His wife's hair is always curled up (8) like a sparrow's nest in front, her pearly white teeth (9) are always peeping out, but she wears Chinese dress (10) . . . . "*

Mark (1) : The first paragraph of the chapter was deleted. This paragraph talks about the man trying to choose an ideal city to fit a happy family. In the end, he failed to find any one and used the temporary marker "A" as the ideal place for his happy family. He mentioned that Chahar, Kirin and Heilongjiang, cities in Manchuria, were unacceptable for his happy family because of "brigands" (robbers) there. The Japanese editors surely wanted to present Manchukuo as peaceful, prosperous, and modern, and would prefer not to include text that would show the region in a bad light. So they deleted this paragraph. Mark (2, 4, and 5) : A happy family was encouraged to just have one wife and one husband. Both of them have "extraordinary equality and absolute freedom", and "a higher education". These passages were kept in the Manchukuo version. Mark (3) : This sentence was deleted; perhaps showing the editors did not want to encourage females to look for love marriages. Mark (6) : This phrase implies studying in western countries was better than studying in Japan, and therefore was deleted. Mark (7-10) : The original story described the clothing style of women in a happy family. The textbook changed the word "Chinese clothes" (zhongguozhuang) to the word "Cheongsams" (qipao), avoiding the word "China".

Textbook chapter 2 (FT2 1942: 89-97)

——他们是优美高尚，很爱艺术的。但因为都从小生长在幸福里，所以不爱ロシア的小说……(11)。ロシア小说多描写下等人，实在和这样的家庭也不合。

Original text (Lu, Xingfude jiating, 1924)

——他们是优美高尚，很爱艺术的。但因为都从小生长在幸福里，所以不爱俄国的小说……。俄国小说多描写下等人，实在和这样的家庭也不合(11)。

Translation of original text (Lu 1960: 157-159)

*They are the cultured élite, devoted to the arts. But because they have both grown up in happy surroundings, they don't like Russian novels. Most Russian novels describe the lower classes, so they are really quite out of keeping with such a family (11) .*

Textbook chapter 3 (FT2 1942: 89-97)

什么,不管他啊, 是中国菜。各国人都说, 中国菜最好吃(12), 最合于卫生: 所以他们采用中国菜。送来的是第一碗, 但这第一碗是什么呢?

Original text (Lu, Xingfude jiating, 1924)

什么'二十五斤'? 不管他。为什么倒是中国菜? 西洋人说, 中国菜最进步(12), 最好吃, 最合于卫生: 所以他们采用中国菜。送来的是第一碗, 但这第一碗是什么呢? ……"

Translation of original text (Lu 1960: 157-159)

*Of what? Never mind. Why should it be Chinese food? Westerners say Chinese cooking is the most progressive (12) , the best to eat, the most hygienic; so they eat Chinese food. The first dish is brought in, but what is this first dish?*

Mark (11) : The protagonist criticizing Russian novels as vulgar is kept. Even though this is not Lu Xun's real position, perhaps the criticism appealed to the Japanese editors. Mark (12) : Here the "westerns" was changed into "geguoren" (every country), and the emblazonment of Chinese food "Chinese cooking is the most progressive" was deleted. This is implying that Japanese did not want to encourage the idea that Chinese are more progressive than Japanese, especially



in the eyes of Westerners.

Textbook chapter 4 (FT2 1942: 89)

“劈柴，……”

他吃惊的回过头去看，靠左肩，便立着他自己家里的主妇，两只阴凄凄的眼睛恰恰钉住他的脸。

“什么？”他以为她来搅扰了他的创作，颇有些愤怒了。

“劈柴，都用完了，今天买了些。前一回还是十斤两吊四，今天就要两吊六。我想给他两吊五，好不好？”

“好好，就是两吊五。”

“称得太吃亏了。他一定只肯算二十四斤半；我想就算他二十三斤半，好不好？”

“好好，就算他二十三斤半。”

“那么，五五二十五，三五一十五，……”

(13)

Original text (Lu, Xingfude jiating, 1924)

“劈柴，……”

他吃惊的回过头去看，靠左肩，便立着他自己家里的主妇，两只一阴一凄凄的眼睛恰恰钉住他的脸。

“什么？”他以为她来搅扰了他的创作，颇有些愤怒了。

“劈柴，都用完了，今天买了些。前一回还是十斤两吊四，今天就要两吊六。我想给他两吊五，好不好？”

“好好，就是两吊五。”

“称得太吃亏了。他一定只肯算二十四斤半；我想就算他二十三斤半，好不好？”

“好好，就算他二十三斤半。”

“那么，五五二十五，三五一十五，……”

(13)

Translation of original text (Lu 1960: 157-159)

… …"Firewood …"

He turned his head with a start, to see the mistress of his own family standing on his left, her two gloomy eyes fastened on his face.

"What?" He spoke rather indignantly, feeling that her coming disturbed his work. "The

firewood is all used up, so today I have bought some more. Last time it was still two hundred and forty cash for ten catties, but today he wants two hundred and sixty. Suppose I give him two hundred and fifty?"

"All right, two hundred and fifty let it be."

"He has weighed it very unfairly. He insists that there are twenty-four and a half catties, but suppose I count it as twenty-three and a half?"

"All right. Count it as twenty-three and a half catties."

"Then, five fives are twenty-five, three fives are fifteen..." (13)

Mark (13) : These paragraphs, we can easy to see the wife can do some basic arithmetic, is kept. Female students were expected to be good wives who had learned how to do basic arithmetic at home, instead of asking their husband's help.

Textbook chapter 5 (FT2 1942: 91)

“于是一碗‘龙虎斗’摆在桌子中央了，他们两人同时捏起筷子，指着碗沿，笑迷迷的你看我，我看你。

「你吃吧。」一个说。

「你先吃。」又一个说。(14)

Original text (Lu, Xingfude jiating, 1924)

“于是一碗‘龙虎斗’摆在桌子中央了，他们两人同时捏起筷子，指着碗沿，笑迷迷的你看我，我看你……”

“ ‘My dear, please. ’

“ ‘Please you eat first, my dear. ’

“ ‘Oh no, please your ! ’ (14)

Translation of original text (Lu 1960: 157-159)

Now what part of the country shall this couple be from? Never mind. After all, people from any part of the country can eat a dish of snake and car (or frog and eel), without injuring their Happy Family. At any rate, this first dish is to be 'Dragon and Tiger'; there can be no question about that.

'My dear, please.'  
'Please you eat first, my dear.'  
'Oh no, please your!' (14)

Mark (14) : The brief English language conversation between the husband and wife was translated into Chinese in FT1, so perhaps the English language conversation was deemed inappropriate. English language instruction was removed from the girls' high schools in 1938, although it apparently was still taught in the male high schools.

Textbook chapter 6 (FT2 1942: 94)

他不能自制的只想回过头去看，因为他觉得背后很热闹，有人来来往往的走了两三回……  
(15) (16) 他终于忍耐不住，回过头去了。

Original text (Lu, Xingfude jiating, 1924)

他不能自制的只想回过头去看，因为他觉得背后很热闹，有人来来往往的走了两三回。但他还熬着，乱嘈嘈的接着想，“这似乎有点肉麻，那有这样的家庭？唉唉，我的思路怎么会这样乱，这好题目怕是做不完篇的了。——或者不必定用留学生，就在国内受了高等教育的也可以。他们都是大学毕业的(15)，高尚优美，高尚……。男的是文学家；女的也是文学家，或者文学崇拜家。或者女的是诗人；男的是诗人崇拜者，女性尊重者。或者……” (16) 他终于忍耐不住，回过头去了。

Translation of original text (Lu 1960: 157-159)

*Against his will he wanted to turn round, because he was conscious of a good deal of excitement behind him, and considerable coming and going. Nevertheless, he persevered, and pursued his train of thought distractedly: "This seems rather sentimental; no family would behave like this. Whatever makes me so woolly-minded? I'm afraid this good subject will never be written up. . . Or perhaps there is no need for them to be returned students; people who have received higher education in China would do just as well. They are both university*

*graduates (15), the cultured élite, the élite . . . The man is a writer; the woman is also a writer, or else a lover of literature. Or else the woman is a poetess; the man is a lover of poetry, a respecter of womanhood. Or else..." (16) Finally he could contain himself no longer, and turned round.*

Mark (15) : The discussion of both the wife and husband receiving a "higher education" and graduating from the "university" was deleted in FT1. Females were not encouraged to receive a higher education in Manchukuo. Mark (16) : The section in the original text, where husband says he needs to be "a respecter of womanhood", was deleted in textbook. The phrase may have implied a more equal relationship than the editors were comfortable with.

Textbook chapter 7 (FT2 1942: 89-97)

“幸福的家庭的房子要宽绰。有一间堆积房，白菜之类都到那边去。主人的书房另一间，靠壁满排着书架，那旁边自然决没有什么白菜堆；架上满是书(17)，《理想之良人》自然也在内。

Original text (Lu, Xingfude jiating, 1924)

“幸福的家庭的房子要宽绰。有一间堆积房，白菜之类都到那边去。主人的书房另一间，靠壁满排着书架，那旁边自然决没有什么白菜堆；架上满是外国书，外国书(17)，《理想之良人》自然也在内，——一共有两部。

Translation of original text (Lu 1960: 157-159)

*"The house of the Happy Family must have plenty of rooms. There is a storeroom where things like cabbages are put. The master's study is apart, its walls lined with bookshelves; there are naturally no cabbages there. The shelves are filled with Chinese books and foreign books (17), including of course An Ideal Husband—two copies altogether.*

Mark (17) : The phrase "Chinese books and foreign books" was changed into simply "books".

Textbook chapter 8 (FT2, Lesson 16, P91)

忽然「拍」的一聲，他腰骨筆直了，因為他根據經驗，知道這一聲“拍”是主婦的手掌打他們的三歲的女兒的頭上的聲音。(18) (19)

(20) 走出外間，開了風門，聞得一陣煤油氣。孩子就躺倒在門的右邊，臉向著地，一見他，便“哇”的哭出來了。

“阿阿，好好，莫哭莫哭，我的好孩子。”他彎下腰去抱她。迴轉身來見門左邊站著他那主婦怒氣沖沖兩手插腰似乎預備開始練體操。

「連你也來欺侮我，不會幫忙，只會搗亂，油燈也要弄翻他，晚上點什麼，……(21) 他把孩子抱進房間，自己坐在椅子上，使孩子站在兩膝的中間，擎起手來道，“莫哭了呵，好孩子。爹爹做‘貓洗臉’給你看。”他同時伸長脖子，伸出舌頭，遠遠的對著手掌舔了兩舔，就用這手掌向了自己的臉上畫圓圈。(22)

“呵呵呵，花儿。”她就笑起來了。(23)

這時門幕突然掛起劈柴運進來了。這時他竟粗暴地抓起那寫著一行題目和一堆草稿地綠格紙揉了幾揉又展開來給孩子拭去眼淚鼻涕，用力地擲在紙簍裏去了。(end)

Original text (Lu, Xingfude jiating, 1924)

拍!

他腰骨筆直了，因為他根據經驗，知道這一聲“拍”是主婦的手掌打他們的三歲的女兒的頭上的聲音。(18)

“幸福的家庭，……”他聽到孩子的嗚咽了，但還是腰骨筆直的想，“孩子是生得遲的，生得遲。或者不如沒有，兩個人干干净净。——或者不如住在客店裡，什麼都包給他們，一個人干干……”(19) 他聽得嗚咽聲高了起來，也就站了起來，鑽過門幕，想着，“馬克思在兒女的啼哭聲中還會做《資本論》，所以他是偉人，……”

(20) 走出外間，開了風門，聞得一陣煤油氣。孩子就躺倒在門的右邊，臉向著地，一見他，便“哇”的哭出來了。

“阿阿，好好，莫哭莫哭，我的好孩子。”他彎下腰去抱她。

他抱了她回轉身，看見門左邊還站著主婦，也是腰骨筆直，然而兩手插腰，怒氣沖沖的似乎豫開始練體操。

“連你也來欺侮我！不會幫忙，只會搗亂，——

連油燈也要翻了他。晚上點什麼？……”(21)

“阿阿，好好，莫哭莫哭，”他把那些發抖的聲音放在腦後，抱她進房，摩著她的頭，說，“我的好孩子。”於是放下她，拖開椅子，坐下去，使她站在兩膝的中間，擎起手來道，“莫哭了呵，好孩子。爹爹做‘貓洗臉’給你看。”他同時伸長脖子，伸出舌頭，遠遠的對著手掌舔了兩舔，就用這手掌向了自己的臉上畫圓圈。(22)

“呵呵呵，花儿。”她就笑起來了。

“是的是的，花儿。”他又連畫上幾個圓圈，這才歇了手，只見她還是笑迷迷的挂著眼淚對他看。他忽而覺得，她那可愛的天真的臉，正像五年前的她的母親，通紅的嘴唇尤其像，不過縮小了輪廓。(23) 那時也是晴朗的冬天，她聽得他說決計反抗一切阻礙，為她犧牲的時候，也就這樣笑迷迷的挂著眼淚對他看。他憫然的坐著，仿佛有些醉了。

“阿阿，可愛的嘴唇……”他想。

門幕忽然掛起。劈柴運進來了。

Translation of original text (Lu 1960: 157-159)

Slap! His back stiffened, because he knew from experience that this slapping sound was made by his wife's hand striking their three-year-old daughter's head. (18)

“In a Happy Family . . .” he thought, his back still rigid, hearing the child sob, “children are born late, yes, born late. Or perhaps it would be better to have none at all, just two people without any ties. . . Or it might be better to stay in a hotel and let them look after everything, a single man without. . .” (19) Hearing the sobs increase in volume, he stood up and brushed past the curtain, thinking, “Karl Marx wrote his *Das Kapital* while his children were crying around him. He must really have been a great man. . .” (20) He walked out, opened the outer door, and was assailed by a strong smell of paraffin. The child was lying to the right of the door, face downwards. As soon as she saw him she started crying aloud.

“There, there, all right! Don't cry, don't cry! There's a good girl.” He bent down to pick her up. Having done so he turned round to see his wife standing furiously to the left of the door,

also with a rigid back, her hands on her hips as if she were preparing to start physical exercises. "Entrez, chérie, s'il vous plait."

"Even you have to come and bully me! You can't help, you only make trouble—even the paraffin lamp had to turn over. What shall we light this evening? . . ." (21)

"There, there, all right! Don't cry, don't cry!" Ignoring his wife's trembling voice, he carried the child into the house, and stroked her head. "There's a good girl," he repeated. Then he put her down, pulled out a chair and sat down. Setting her between his knees, he raised his hand. "Don't cry, there's a good girl," he said. "Daddy will do 'Pussy Washing' for you." At the same time he craned his neck, licked his palms from a distance twice, then with them traced circles towards his face. (22)

"Aha! Pussy!" She started laughing.

"That's right, that's right. Pussy." He traced several more circles, and then stopped, seeing her smiling at him with tears still in her eyes. It struck him suddenly that her sweet, innocent face was just like her mother's had been five years ago, especially her bright red lips, although the general outline was smaller. (23)

.....

The door curtain was suddenly fastened back and the firewood brought in..

Mark (18) (20) (21) : In these paragraphs, the wife treats the daughter very badly, while the husband coaxes his daughter patiently. All of these scenes were kept in the textbook as a negative example, so it can be clearly seen that in "the ideal family" that both wife and husband should take care of children gently. Mark (19) : In a sentence where the father wishes he did not have children, or that a hotel would take care of them for him, is deleted from FT1. Although Lu Xun probably did not mean for this to be representative of his own ideas, the Manchukuo editors probably preferred to not deal with irony in the text, and wanted to avoid the bad example. Mark (22) : Karl Marx and his "Das Kapital" were also deleted in the textbook, as communism was considered anathema by the Manchukuo government. Mark (23) :

In the original text, there are several paragraphs that mentioned the husband's two wives. In the textbook all mention of more than one wife was deleted. It implies that Manchukuo government wanted to encourage monogamy. The editors kept the first paragraph of the text, which mentioned that an "ideal family" has just one wife and one husband.

All of words praising or even mentioning western countries and China, as well as those belittling Japanese, were deleted. All of the phrases that spoke poorly about the Northeast region, as well as those that went against the Manchukuo state ideology were deleted or modified. While ideas that met with the Manchukuo ideal were kept. These include the protagonists' ideal of a family, wife, and husband, and anything that belittled Russia. All of these indicate that the Japanese wanted to include a sense of modernization, of which Lu Xun was one of the chief symbols, but control the message, so that only positive references to Japan and Manchuria were given, and positive references to the West and Westernization in China were minimized.

Next I will look at some other specific passages from the two female high school textbooks. The textbooks included material which encouraged females to be a domestic "Good wife and wise mother" . However, it is interesting to see that the textbooks also included materials that spoke of or implied other possible roles for women, such as becoming a writer.

In Manchukuo, what kind of characteristics, responsibility, and knowledge were expected from a "good wife" or "wise mother" ? In the first place, an image of motherhood was created by many chapters about the relationship between mothers and children in the girl's textbooks. In the girls' textbook, female related topics account for half of the chapters, and out of those female related chapters, those about mothers account for half again. There are lots of conversations between mothers and children in the textbooks. They teach that as a wise mother, females should cherish and take care of children with love. They should teach their children and be strict with their studies. They were expected to train their children in a gentle way, to help them to study well and behave correctly (FT 1 1941: 57) .

Textbook chapter 9 (FT1 1941: 57)

*"I was wondering why you ran here so anxiously. The reason is just a rooster!"*

*Mother laughed and wiped the sweat from my forehead... ..*

*"I don't want to eat it, mother; I want to keep that big fancy rooster and I don't want anybody to kill him. He is my favorite fancy rooster."*

*I burst into tears. Mother gave me a gentle look and laughed: "What an innocent boy! It is nothing to cry about... .."*

The state also wanted females to feel they were essential components of the family. They were taught to learn the differences between males and females, especially what they portrayed as a natural division of labor. First, females are portrayed as having a maternal instinct. No matter how masculinized or selfish a female had become, a newly born baby can arouse her mothering instinct (FT 2 1942: 102) . Females are also portrayed as more patient than males, so they are good at cooking, sewing and so on. Females were expected to exert their innate advantage to enhance their artistic quality and creativity, which would raise their social value.

Textbook chapter 10 (FT2 1942: 102)

..... "Wan, please forgive me. I cannot believe that you are my former classmate."

Wan understood my meaning, and answered naturally: "Chun, to be honestly, I also cannot believe it. You might know what kind of person I was before. I used to be a person who just wanted to play and put on make-up. But my mind changed totally when I had my babies. I think all of my happiness is connected to the children. Bin also likes them very much. These two children have become an indispensable part of our love. Chun, I never wanted to have a baby before. However, once they came, they make you happy, you welcome them love them."

"That is mother's heart. Mother's love is marvelous in origin. A person who never becomes a mother cannot understand."

In other sections, the editors encouraged females to become mothers who were dedicated to the wellbeing of their children.

Textbook chapter 11 (FT2 1942: 104)

There is a big album decorated by leather and golden letters. Mrs. Tom said that it was sent from America and commissioned by her uncle. It is used to record her child's daily life. In this book, there are some pages where she can attach photos: one page recorded the child's first words, one page recorded the child's first step, the baptism, the first Christmas, presents, and guests coming to visit. .... All of these were classified and easy for the parents to decorate. I think the child would very interested in the contents and realize how hard the parents worked to bring him up, and becoming more filial as he grew up. This is a good idea which we can learn from.

Next, lots of family related lessons were used to portray an image of a good wife. A good wife, as portrayed in the textbooks, should comply with some Confucian ideas, such as filial piety, respecting ancestors, and following the progenitor system. They also should keep a good relationship with neighbors and friends. It was suggested that a competent wife is thrifty (FT 1 1941: 114-115) . Most families were described as poor people, so females were expected to have the spirit of patience and diligence.

Under wartime conditions, the government sought to mobilize all possible power to support the country. Nobody could easily escape from the imperialist project. Girls also had a role to play. From the government's view, girls have to love their family members and keep humility with each other as stable families to strengthen the state. As sisters, girls should support their brothers in enrolling in the army (FT 1 1941: 83-84) . Good older sisters should gratefully take care of their younger brothers and help them study, with the expectation that they will serve the state in the future (FT 2 1942: 78) .



Textbook chapter 12 (FT1 1941: 84)

"I am not unhappy, brother. You joined the army for our family and our country; I don't know how I can properly comfort you and thank you."

Brother turned his face up, closed his eyes and pondered: "The thing that worries me the most is our lonely and poor family. The best way you could comfort me and reward me is if you can help mother to take care of our family. In addition, if you really wish to help me, please stitch more 'comfort bags' and give more love to our little cat." ...

Not only as "Good wife, wise mother", but also as individual person, females were considered important to society and the country by the Manchukuo government. Only a few chapters in the textbooks talked about the country directly. However, most of these lessons had been used to imply the close relationship between female individuals and society, and female individuals and the country. Females were taught how important they were either in the family or in the society, especially during wartime.

Female were also expected to take on some responsibilities that traditionally-minded people might assure were the roles of males. For example, they were expected to have an awareness of the new state and to take responsibility for the country. The Manchukuo government encouraged female students to understand the inevitability of historical development, the situation of the Manchukuo, and the relationship between Japan and Manchukuo.

Textbook chapter 13 (Guo Ming Dao De (Man Yu) 1942: 85-86)

..... Our country is established on the basis justice. So it was a fact, whether the other powerful countries recognize it or not. .... Our friend the Japanese Empire absolutely took a lead in committing to help our country become independent and help us develop healthily and

comprehensively. ....

Why did the Japanese Empire, our friend, help our country? There are three reasons: first, in order to the maintain East Asian peace. That means Japan wanted to maintain a safe for life in Japan, Manchukuo and China. Second, in order to rejuvenate the peoples of Asia. Third, to establish the world's eternal peace.

Most western articles talked about Germany, Japan's ally. For example, one article, "Fu Di" ("Fight for the enemy"), tells a story of a German woman devoted herself to her country by preparing her son to go to the front line (FT 1 1941: 118-119). Meanwhile, females were also expected to study modern knowledge to suit modern society. The textbooks implied that females were expected to do more outside the home. They were encouraged to go out to be educated, to work (FT 1 1941: 144-145), travel (FT 2 1942: 57-58), pay homage to ancestors (MT 1 1943: 29-30), visit friends (FT 2 1942: 100-101), act in theaters (MT 1 1943: 41-43), and run businesses (FT 1 1941: 47-48). They were expected to understand that the country and society needed their contributions. They should develop a modern viewpoint and keep up with social developments. For example, learning to save money and make deposits in a bank (FT 1 1941: 132-133), and supporting people who devoted themselves to the country or people joined the army (FT 2 1942: 38-39).

Textbook chapter 14 (FT1 1941: 132)

..... What we are advocating is to deposit money into the safest banks. On the one hand, depositing money can decrease the risk of money being stolen or robbed. On the other hand, it can gain interest over time. In addition, the bank can use these deposits to invest beneficially and flexibly, which can simultaneously increase the social welfare and enrich our country. It is better than just saving your money at home..

Textbook chapter 15 (FT2 1942: 38-39)



“This is my wife” , the man pointed to the women and said, “She sympathizes with you very much. She said to me that she can help you to take care of your three children. Because she also an orphan who has no family and no relatives. This is the way we can make a contribution.” …… “Really? If madam can do that, my son and I would be greatly in your debt; and it would be a great service to the Empire. As a way to repay your wife, I will devote myself to the Empire, and fight desperately in the army.”

In terms of individual qualities, females were expected to have good manners, presentable appearance, and the spirit of perseverance, kindness, bravely, industriousness, generosity, filial piety, thanksgiving, loyalty and wisdom. It would be better if females had their own hobbies and basic knowledge of athletics and literary matters. Writing was encouraged as a possible career for females (FT 1 1941: 146) .

Textbook chapter 16 (FT1 1941: 146)

Sometimes I worked as a female worker in a rubber factory, sometimes as a helper in a yarn shop, and sometimes as an assistant in a bookstore. In the end of that summer, I joined hands with my friend and published a magazine named “Two Person” . There was a poem named “Sakyamuni Buddha” written by me and published in that magazine, which received special praise from a famous person. Meanwhile, I had to work in a coffee shop to earn living expenses and printing costs. …

Another chapter “Yiye Haohua” (“Luxury of one night”) , warned against vanity by telling the story of a female who worked her whole life to make up for a mistake she made one night in France (FT 2 1942: 118-125) .

## Conclusion

The textbooks present an image of women that included being a loving mother and wife who made a domestic paradise, but which also described how

a female needed to be trained to play a variety of roles, all of which would be a benefit to the family, society, and state. Women were encouraged to be loving parents, who would help train the children to be both modern and patriotic. But beyond that, they were encouraged to be mothers of the entire country, preparing loved ones to serve in the military, and serving people outside of the family who were sacrificing for the state. Also, the portrayal of women went beyond simple Confucian prescriptions of obedience and domesticity, and included making decisions about finances, running businesses, enjoying personal vacations, and achieving personal ambitions such as writing. These encouragements of individual goals stand in contrast with the official principles, which only emphasized domesticity and low-level vocational ability. There appears to be a gap in the expectations between the official education principles and the editors’ textbook choices.

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## 植民地満州国語教科書から見る女性の役割と地位（1938 - 1942）

オウ      フン      フン  
王      雯      雯

### 要 旨

日本の支配の下にあった「満州国」（1932 - 45）政権は、女性の教育を重視していた。女性向けの中学校教科書が出版され、女性を「良妻賢母」に育成することが目的だった。満州国教育に関する先行研究はあるが、教科書で女性の教育を分析する人は少ない。本稿では、「満州国」に漢族の女子中等教育を研究し、満州国民生部が出版された四冊の「国語」（1938 - 1942）の教科書を分析した。具体的には、女子中学校と男子中学校の教科書の内容を比較した上で、性別による違いを分析し、元のテキストや教科書の改訂を比較した。教科書を分析することによって、満州国政府が呼びかける「賢妻良母」の方針の具体的な内容が示されている。エリート女性は励ましを受けるだけでなく、社会と国を応援するように励まされた。